HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section

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Lausche ex Machina: The troubles of the Democratic Party have piled up to a dizzy height in the past few days and today only some drastic remedy seems capable of curing its ills.

The greater likelihood that Eisenhower will run — a nightmare indeed to Stevenson, Kefauver and Harriman — comes on top of the truly grave problem of what to do about the South. Stevenson tries to take a "moderate" stand, pleasing neither the NAACP nor the men from Dixie. Kefauver and Harriman kick that political football around. But none of the trio gains anything in the South.

And the South and border states, every Democratic ward heeler knows, represent 176 electoral votes (266 are necessary to win a general election). The Democratic Party simply must keep the South.

Yet the grim fact is that the temper of the South is rising dangerously. Those in Washington who are highly paid to watch such developments hazard a guess that the revolt against desegregation, attended by such deplorable incidents as those in Alabama and Mississippi recently, may explode in some even more startling situation — as yet unanticipated — before many months are out.

Hence, veteran sages of the Democratic Party in this Capital are privately suggesting that the deck be reshuffled and a new face card replace the worn-out visages of Adlai, Ave and Estes. The man mentioned is Governor Lausche of Ohio. (Note his picture on the cover of and the feature story in *Time* magazine this week.) Down South, Senators Russell (Ga.) and McClellan (Ark.) and Governor Shivers (Texas) have recommended Lausche. Today a HUMAN EVENTS telephone canvass of editorial opinion in nearby southern states produces the reaction that, in Dixie, while Lausche is not well known, he is far more acceptable to Southerners than Adlai, Ave and Estes.

And in the North? The Democratic sages, above mentioned, say that the Ohio governor — if nominated — would stand a good chance of picking up the following: (1) many old supporters of the late Senator Taft (for whom Lausche has admitted voting in 1950); (2) a host of conservative Republicans, disillusioned with the Palace Guard New Dealism of the present regime; (3) followers of Senator McCarthy, also disgruntled with the GOP; (4) most important of all, the masses of second-generation Americans of whom Lausche is a symbol, who are concentrated in the industrial big-electoral vote states.

With such circumstances in mind, no wonder that Democratic political pros are giving this dark horse a second look.

President's Health: Democratic leaders on the Hill are discussing among themselves the question of whether they can — as they would like to — make the President's coronary the big issue if he runs. Adlai has indicated that he will be "aloof" from such sordid discussion, and National Chairman Paul Butler may, for appearance sake, adopt the same course. But the hatchet men who will go all-out on the subject will be the New Deal columnists, Harry Truman (who has already asked whether the country wants a "part-time chairman of the board") and others like Senator Wayne Morse.

Ammunition to be released, when appropriate, includes statements that conservative insurance companies refuse to sell policies to any coronary case until something like twelve years after such an attack. New Deal research staffs claim to have been unable to find any well-known company that will insure at any price a man of 65 who has recently had a coronary.

Since this information came to HUMAN EVENTS, we have talked to several actuaries who say that while these Democratic statements are true as of now, the entire subject is under re-examination. They think that with the improved techniques being developed, coronary cases of the President's age and recency of attack may soon be able to get insurance, although at a very heavy premium — if a satisfactory recovery can be shown.

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Opinion is not unanimous that Ike is now sure to run again. Senator George Bender (R., Ohio) who until this week swore that the President would run, now insists that he will not do so. Bender hints that his shift in view results from last minute information. Importance is given to Bender's surprising present view, because Bender is known as the political protege of Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, the President's most trusted adviser and present host in Georgia.

Case of Case: The stories about the offer of a $2,500 campaign donation to Senator Francis Case (R., S.D.) by a lawyer for a natural gas producer, has inspired caustic criticism among public relations experts here. This is the way they say it should have been handled.

Both South Dakota Senators Mundt and Francis Case, being conservatives, should have been presumed to favor the natural gas bill anyway. The effective way to cinch both of their votes would have been to build up rank-and-file sentiment in South Dakota where the voters are instinctively anti-socialist anyway. The sum of $2,500, they point out, would have purchased large ads in every daily and major weekly newspaper in the State, or it could have been used to send a mailing piece to 60,000 voters — a substantial proportion in that small state. In either case, the copy could have been the devastating exposure of the Douglas-Lehman-Humphrey demagoguery written by Samuel H. Pettengill for the Committee for Constitutional Government, 205 E. 42nd St., New York (see HUMAN EVENTS' News Section of Jan. 28).

Such an expenditure — because it would have been made for a legitimate business purpose — would have been tax deductible by the natural gas producing company; whereas, a campaign contribution cannot be made at all by a corporation and, though permissible, is not tax deductible by an individual.

Jenner: The pithy Senator from Indiana stole the show (at the annual seminar of the Abraham Lincoln Republican Club in Chicago on February 11) by his description of the Presidency as being changed from the American constitutional office of 'first citizen of the Republic into a European office much more like the early Roman Emperors." Jenner placed the blame for this shift on the "bureaucratic elite which wants to rule the United States in the protecting shadow of a loved and trusted symbol." Jenner's remarks on the Presidency won the headlines in many cities.

But largely unreported went other remarks which made more of an impression on sophisticated Washingtonians. The Indiana Senator urged that the average citizen had best place his trust in the election of the proper Representative and Senator from his district and state; that the real ultimate power resides in Congress by its power over the purse; that the average citizen has a better chance to work his will on national policy by congressional elections than by presidential elections. Jenner emphasized: "You cannot elect a President unless you can win over about 34 million votes. You can elect a member of Congress if you can win over a few thousand votes. You can elect a Senator if you can win over a small fraction of the presidential vote." His prescription — "put none but constitutionalists on guard in Congress."

A week ago HUMAN EVENTS sent to all contributors Frank Hanighen's "Report On The Campaign: 'Conservatives Wake Up and Win!'" If you donated to that campaign you should have that report by this time. If you were a donor and have not received it, please write to us and we will mail you a copy.

Not Merely Gossip: One of the most unfortunate aspects of the Maclean-Burgess case has been the fact that both men are homosexuals. Congressional investigating committees reportedly will explore this trail, to find out with what officials in our government the twain were friendly when they lived here. One story is widely believed: that what is dubbed the "American section of the Homosexual International" actually arranged the disappearance of Mrs. Melinda Maclean and children who vanished so mysteriously in Geneva in 1953. It is now known that they were transferred from Switzerland to beyond the Iron Curtain. This job — it is believed — was planned by a group of American deviates in Mallorca, Spain and later executed by other members of the strange "international."

● General MacArthur in his vigorous rejoinder to Truman said that one secret report of his of great military import leaked in a Washington newspaper shortly after he sent it to the Capital from the Far East. No action was taken to apprehend those responsible, in government and the press, under the Truman Administration. However, it is known to insiders here, that there was an effort made to take such action after the Eisenhower Administration

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came into power. Secretary of Defense Wilson and Attorney General Brownell—it is claimed—wanted to prosecute parties involved in the leak. The matter was taken up in a White House conference, but powerful members of the Palace Guard persuaded Wilson and Brownell to drop the whole matter.

Letter from JAMESON G. CAMPAIGNE, Editor, Editorial Page, The *Indianapolis Star*: "I find HUMAN EVENTS a valuable source of information on national affairs that is found in no other publication. Its articles dealing with fundamental differences between the libertarian and 'liberal' views are provocative, original and hard-hitting. HUMAN EVENTS is doing a valuable service for individual liberty."

On the (Red) Party Line: The Communist *Daily Worker's* campaign against Senator James O. Eastland continues unabated, intensified if anything. Daily, the Red editors vent their range of vituperative billingsgate at the unruffled Mississippian in a manner reminiscent of the sheet's hysterical diatribes when it was building its case to "get" Senator Joe McCarthy.

In the six issues covering the week preceding the writing of this item (the *Worker* is not published Saturdays), Eastland's name appears at least once in every issue, either in a headline or in the first paragraph of a story, in the most derogatory fashion the *Worker* can dream up (and "dream up" is used advisedly). One day a caricature of a snarling Eastland appears on page one to accompany a story about a UAW official opposing Adlai Stevenson's "gradual" approach to integration.

Inauguration by Eastland's Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of a new series of hearings pinpointing Communist methods of infiltrating the United States government is greeted by this *Daily Worker* headline: "Eastland launches new witch-hunt." Its Lincoln's Birthday front page editorial starts: "In the nation's mind as it celebrates the birthday of Abraham Lincoln are two images — the Emancipator and the guardian of the Union. To those who have been shocked by the racist political obscenities of James O. Eastland, etc." And so forth *ad nauseum*.

The *Worker*, of course, is playing every angle (favorable to its cause) of the increasingly serious racial tension in southern states, doing everything it possibly can to make that tension worse and to foster bad feelings between white and Negro peoples. The greater the internal disunity and confusion, the greater the possibility of the Red minority maneuvering itself into control.

For instance, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (regarded by some southerners as Communist but not so regarded by all security and counterespionage experts) is organizing a "march on Washington" for March 4-6. Its purpose will be to buttonhole members of Congress in behalf of civil rights legislation and measures to prevent violent outbreaks in the South; its leaders expect to have 2,000 delegates from all parts of the country, and have lined up some 50-odd civic and religious organizations as co-sponsors.

Such an undertaking is made to order for a Communist take-over, and the Reds are busily laying the groundwork. NAACP leaders are doing their best to keep them off delegate lists, but their ultimate success is questionable; the *Daily Worker*, by giving the pilgrimage constant publicity, in effect is telling Party members to get in on the act if they can. If they succeed in sufficient numbers, there could be trouble.

Passports and "Faceless Informers": Federal District Court judges here in the District of Columbia have tended to move more and more toward the liberal-left theory that passports are a "natural right" to which every American is entitled, that derogatory information should not be considered by the State Department in acting on passport applications unless it and its source are fully spread on the open record. The trend culminated last November in Judge Luther Youngdahl's decision railing at "faceless informers" and ordering the State Department either to give New York attorney Leonard Boudin a passport or give him a full hearing with an opportunity to question all witnesses against him.

The State Department, like intelligence and countersubversive agencies, contends some of its informants must remain secret but that their information can properly be evaluated for what it is worth.

Now the issue goes to higher courts, probably the Supreme Court, for adjudication. Federal District Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy has upheld the department's use of confidential information as a "reasonable exercise of discretion." His decision approves the department's refusal to issue a passport to Weldon Bruce Dayton, nuclear-cosmic ray scientist employed by the Corning (N.Y.) Glass Works. The department, defending its decision to McGarraghy, told of some of the evidence

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it considered, but conceded it also considered other items it was not divulging. The Government already has appealed the Boudin case; Dayton's attorneys undoubtedly will appeal this one, thus placing completely conflicting rulings on exactly the same issue before the Court of Appeals. Lawyers expect the issue to go on to the Supreme Court.

Top scientist at the Corning Glass Works is Edward U. Condon, who, while director of the U. S. Bureau of Standards, was described by the House Un-American Activities Committee as "the weakest link in our atomic security chain."

Burgess-Maclean: Korean Links? Recent events bring into the open a strong likelihood which has been rumored for some time: that the defected British spies, Maclean and Burgess, may have been the pipelines through which word was funneled to Moscow and on to Peiping that if the Chinese Communists moved into the Korean War, they need not fear American military retaliation against China.

General Douglas MacArthur says they "undoubtedly" were links in that chain. He also expresses the belief that his abrupt dismissal by then-President Truman may have been a result of his recommendation "that a treason trial be initiated to break up a spy ring responsible for the purloining of my top-secret reports to Washington."

The Houston *Chronicle*, Democratic but anti-Fair Deal, editorially proposes that even at this late date, Senator Eastland's Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has an obligation to make a thorough investigation of the MacArthur charges and to "determine who was responsible for leaks of information to the enemy, if there were any." Most Americans, except those who may have been involved themselves or had friends who were involved, undoubtedly would agree.

Meanwhile, the entire Burgess-Maclean affair suddenly takes on an unbelievably bizarre coloration, out-intriguing E. Phillips Oppenheim at his best. Why, after all this time, did Moscow suddenly choose to put the two Britons on exhibition? — is a question being asked by many. One possible answer: for the specific purpose of denying that they had served as espionage agents or information transmission belts during the Korean War.

In Australia, however, ex-Communist spy-master Vladimir Petrov insists anew that no matter what they may say, Burgess and Maclean, according to information given him while he still was a Soviet agent, were themselves espionage agents; thus far, Petrov's statements have checked out as reliable.

Between Covers: A monograph, "Conquest *via* Immigration" (written and prepared by the Research Staff of *The Alliance, Inc.*, with a foreword by Archibald Roosevelt) is an analysis of the Communist attempt to get their agents into this country by the destruction of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. Copies may be obtained by writing to *The Alliance, Inc.*, 200 East 66th Street, New York 21, N. Y. 1 to 5 copies: 50 cents.

● A pamphlet, "Need For A Constitutional Amendment On Treaties And Executive Agreements," by Frank E. Holman (past President of the American Bar Association and leader in the Bricker Amendment fight), reprinted from *The Washington University Law Quarterly*, Vol. 1955-December 1955-Number 4, reviews the nature of the American form of government as a constitutional republic and as a government of delegated powers. Copies of the *Law Quarterly* may be obtained from The Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. $1.25 per current copy.

● An address, "The Legal and Moral Basis of Right to Work Laws," by J. C. Gibson, member of the Illinois Bar, before the Section of Labor Relations Law, American Bar Association. Mr. Gibson discusses legislative restrictions on union security agreements. Single copies of his address may be obtained free, 5 copies $1; 25 copies $4 from *The National Right To Work Committee*, 35 Rust Building, Washington, D. C.

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The Declaration of Independence opens: "When in the course of HUMAN EVENTS . . ."

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Article Section

BIPARTISANSHIP IS SUBVERTING THE CONSTITUTION

By SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL

"THE CONSENT of the governed" is the bedrock of our form of government. It is being dynamited and crumbled by this new and alien fetish called "bipartisanship."

All governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." That is the one great affirmation in the Declaration of Independence with respect to government itself. And the Declaration is the spirit and the soul of which the Constitution is the letter and the page, as the Supreme Court has said.

The consent of the governed requires a choice between alternatives. Consent is based on access to the facts, followed by free speech, free press and a vote. The "governed" can consent or *not* consent. They can make the minority today, the majority tomorrow. They can be free and stay free as long as "the consent of the governed" is daily fought for and preserved.

No one will say that the laws which govern the Russian people are based on their consent. They have but one party and therefore no choice. Their one party is hard to distinguish from the prevailing "bipartisanship" so far as foreign policy is concerned.

In the face of the threat of world domination by the bosses of the Kremlin, the foreign policy of Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower — whatever it is at any time — has been protected by the hush-hush of "bipartisanship." Whatever the Executive does in foreign policy, whether right or wrong, it is not to be disagreed with. We can "be lied into World War II" and our sons must go. We can be hurled overnight into the Korean War by one man, without any say-so by Congress, and our sons must die without debate. Neither they, their parents, nor their representatives in the national legislature had any voice in the decision.

Such is our "bipartisan foreign policy," the huge dimensions, cost and appetite of which are engulfing domestic policy as a python swallows a rabbit. Indeed, as a part of its propaganda, the State Department, in an official bulletin, with a foreword by President Truman, said, "There is no longer any real distinction between 'domestic' and 'foreign' affairs." Bipartisanship in foreign affairs, therefore, leads inevitably to bipartisanship in domestic affairs and the one party state, even if the party has two labels.

The present "brink of war" hassle gives the appearance of a real division on foreign policy. But it concerns details only — "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing" more than who holds office. It reaches no fundamentals. The leaders of both parties are for global busy-bodyism. They will not debate a total overhaul of how we got into the mess we are in, or how to get out. The patriotic groups all over the country who are demanding such an examination have no spokesmen except themselves. Let them speak up!

How this degradation of "the consent of the governed" came about, and how our constitutional Republic is being subverted into a major province of a world govern-

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ment by President, Pentagon and foreign politicians is well but briefly told in a small book by the late Garet Garrett, entitled *Rise of Empire.* But all the secret manipulations and "conditioning" of the public mind calls for another Gibbon to some day write a history of the rise and fall of the American Republic unless a stop is called — soon.

Such a history cannot be written now. For much of the sordid story is still marked "classified," and kept from historians who have the honesty to be critical. We can only guess at the pressures put on editors, publishers, congressmen, Senators, manufacturers, bankers, exporters, professors, writers, teachers, clergymen and others to swallow this notion that bipartisanship in foreign policy is patriotic, and shut their mouths.

However it was done, it is plain that behind the scenes, powerful hands pulled the strings that moved the puppets of public opinion. Without knowing how we got there, we now find ourselves "committed" by dozens of treaties and executive agreements to again go to war, when ordered to do so by one man.

A wrangle over some dim boundary line separating the goat pastures of rival tribesmen is now an "international incident" of very grave importance! These incidents, constantly recurring, become the daily bread of headline writers and radio commentators. Thus the public mind is kept in a constant turmoil which precludes a calm discussion of where we are and how we got there.

We do know that patriotic leaders of both parties, such as Lindbergh, Wheeler and Nye, who remained true to the historic policy of free debate and honest opposition, were smeared and driven from public life.

Although Dr. Samuel Johnson wrote caustically that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel," and George Washington, the purest patriot we ever had, warned "against the insidious wiles of foreign influence," we need not pass a moral judgment on all the authors of "bipartisanship." Many of them were good men who became ensnared in the propaganda net which they helped to weave for others.

WE NEED ONLY, here and now, to see how "bipartisanship" is subverting the Constitution.

It made sense to say, as we did before we got into this series of world wars that "politics stops at the water's edge." That was when *policies* also stopped there. That was when American foreign policy was to defend our shores and preserve our independence from foreign conquest. But now, when this bipartisan cabal has involved us in every jawing match between diplomats all over the globe, this old saying has become a shibboleth used by cunning men to shut off debate on whatever they are planning to do.

To the shout of this slogan, the United Nations Charter was jammed through the Senate, with little discussion and no reservations while the war fever was on — before we used the atom bomb on Japan. Its promoters took no chances on free debate in a calmer time.

Today, our foreign policy affects domestic policy in our most vital concerns. It embraces taxes, debt, inflation, high prices, wage, rent, price and agricultural controls; import and export trade; the peacetime conscription of our sons; the right to travel and do business abroad; the allocation of the materials, money and credit with which domestic business is done. It is so draining the taxable wealth of state, county, city, town and village that they feel they cannot build the needed roads, bridges, hospitals or schools, or pay their teachers without "federal aid" from the government that impoverishes them. Hence, the Leviathan on the Potomac is consuming state and local self-government and breaking down every substantial barrier our fathers so painfully erected to keep government limited and people free.

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Yet, whenever the exercise of any of these ancient domestic rights is claimed to impinge on the undisclosed plans of the architects of foreign policy and world empire, the cry goes up, "Don't tie the hands of the President! Don't let the President 'down' before foreign politicians by the Senate rejecting any agreement he negotiates with them. The honor of the nation is at stake!

"Take from Congress its constitutional power and duty to declare war, or to refuse to declare war. That's obsolete! Under the NATO and other treaties, Congress has already abdicated its power to declare war. Don't let any congressman question the State Department or the Pentagon on how much money they say they need. They're experts, aren't they? What do congressmen, or the people know about such matters?"

Such are the words we hear from the bipartisan bloc, many of whom plan to get rich from the tens of billions of dollars of government loans, gifts and bribes which pour across the seven seas from the Pentagon and other Executive agencies.

The need to spend billions for national defense now, is of course due to the fact that the Bolsheviks, and "good old Joe," became a world menace largely because a previous administration demanded secrecy, and no criticism of its colossal blunders that lifted Stalin into Hitler's saddle. Despite the secrecy, many patriots like ex-President Hoover attempted to warn against cuddling up to "good old Joe." But they were denied access to the public mind by the bipartisan clique in government, publishing houses, editorial offices, radio and television.

There is surely something very odd about a bipartisan foreign policy which now feverishly seeks to re-arm Germany and Japan as our trusted allies against "the freedom loving country" which Roosevelt told us Russia was only two years after he had told us that it was "a dictatorship as absolute as the world has known" (when it attacked Finland). Yet the present administration has sought to maintain "the historical blackout" against any real investigation of Teheran, Cairo, Yalta, Potsdam or Pearl Harbor.

The reputations for almighty wisdom of even dead politicians must not be called in question. And so we march our dreary and bloody way through the Chinese maze of universal meddlesomeness that is the thing of which the bipartisan clique is most proud. This clique is determined to reduce Congress to the impotence of a Nazi Reichstag, or a Russian Supreme Soviet.

As a Republic is transformed into a World Empire, the following steps occur:*

The executive power of government becomes dominant; domestic policy is subordinated to foreign policy; the military mind gains such ascendancy as to intimidate the civilian mind; a system of satellite nations is set up; and finally, we are told that it is "our turn" to save civilization and take over "the white man's burden" from the palsied hands of previous empires which failed on the job.

All this we see. It is promoted by a flood of taxpaid pamphlets, radio discs, TV jingles and canned speeches from the State Department and the United Nations into every school, church, kindergarten and civic organization. As a Task Force of the Hoover Commission has said, "Free institutions can not long survive when the vast powers of government may be marshalled *against the people* to perpetuate a given policy."

When the difference between Democratic and Republican bipartisans becomes little more than that between Tweedledee and Tweedledum, the voters twiddle their thumbs and stay home on election day. In

* See *Rise of Empire,* by Garet Garrett, the Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho; Price, 75 cents.

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the 1954 elections, out of 100,000,000 eligible voters, 58,000,000 stayed at home! Bipartisanship and general apathy are close relatives!

EVERY WORLD EMPIRE from Rome to today has suppressed divergence of opinion at home in order to show abroad that it could engage in its external ventures unhampered. Empire requires a "united front."

If the Executive says the immigration gates should be opened to admit whatever number or group he supports, Congress is blackjacked into silence by the bipartisan cabal. If he says so many billions of dollars must be given to *Panhandlia,* or *Upper Wemilkyou,* any congressman who questions either the wisdom or amount is charged with a lack of patriotism or of human sympathy.

He lacks neither. He knows that if any country will establish a stable government that respects property rights, private American capital will pour into it, as it has always done, for example, into Canada and Venezuela. He objects, however, to taking our money by force — by taxes — and giving it to selected foreign politicians, many if not most of whom are socialists or even Communists, such as Tito of Yugoslavia.

He doesn't think much of sending billions abroad to buy friends. He doubts if many of the recipients will stay bought when the heat is on. He recalls the billions we gave to "good old Joe." He knows that the proposed Covenant of Human Rights implies that governments have the "right" to confiscate our property "loaned" to foreigners.

But a congressman who says these things is in for a rough time from the bipartisan cabal. There are too few such congressmen left. And so "the control of the purse," the final bastion of a free people, passes from the hands of their chosen representatives whom they can hire or fire, and into the hands of a vast executive bureaucracy, in Washington and the United Nations, not chosen by them nor dischargeable by them.

With the people denied by the White House from any opportunity to pass on the merits of the Bricker Amendment, the President — any President — together with foreign politicians, who have their own axes to grind, becomes the super-legislature of the American people with the power to make executive agreements that become "the supreme law of the land," without reference to a single Senator or member of Congress.

When Congress surrenders its right and duty to debate, uphold or reject foreign policy, it betrays its trust and abdicates government "by the consent of the governed."

There is a small handful of men of both parties still left on Capitol Hill who see how bipartisanship is subverting the Constitution, and have the courage to say so. May their tribe increase as a result of the coming elections. It will, if the American people wake up to what is at stake. What they stand to lose is all they have.

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The Hon. Samuel B. Pettengill, author, lecturer and radio commentator, was Representative (Democratic) from Indiana to Congress from 1931 to 1939. He previously contributed to HUMAN EVENTS on August 13, 1955 — "The Ghost at the Geneva Feast."

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